

## Message Text

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APPROVED BY P:PCHABIB

IO/UNP:GBHELMAN

IO:JABAKER

EUR:JAARMITAGE

S/S:MR. BRIDGES

EUR/SE:WLEAGLETON

S - MR. AHERNE

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TO USDEL SECRETARY IMMEDIATE

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EXDIS

E.O. 11652 GDS

TAGS: PFOR, UN, CY, TU

SUBJECT: ACTION MEMORANDUM: CYPRUS ISSUE IN UN GENERAL  
ASSEMBLY (S/S NO. 7616942)

TO THE SECRETARY FROM IO-BAKER, ACTING AND EUR-ARMITAGE,  
ACTING THROUGH MR. HABIB

### 1. THE PROBLEM:

THE GREEK CYPRIOTS HAVE AGAIN REQUESTED THE UNGA TO TAKE UP  
THE CYPR'S ISSUE. THE TURKS HAVE AGAIN REQUESTED OUR  
SUPPO,; FOR THEIR POSITION THAT THE CYPRUS ISSUE SHOULD  
BE DEA-T WITH IN COMMITTEE AND NOT IN THE UNGA PLENARY  
AND THAT TURKISH CYPRIOT LEADER DENKTASH SHOULD BE GIVEN  
AN EQUAL OPPORTUNITY WITH PRESIDENT MAKARIOS TO EXPRESS HIS  
VIEWS. WE NEED YOUR DECISION ON A RESPONSE TO THE TURKISH  
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REQUEST.

2. THE BACKGROUND:

TURKISH AMBASSADOR ESENBEL UNDER INSTRUCTIONS HAS DISCUSSED THE QUESTION OF HOW CYPRUS SHOULD BE HANDLED BY THE UNGA WITH JOE SISCO (ON MAY 20) AND PHIL HABIB (ON AUGUST 3). THE TURKS ARE MAKING SIMILAR DEMARCHE TO OTHER FRIENDLY

NATIONS FOR SUPPORT. ESENBEL TOLD HABIB THAT THE TURKS PREFERRED THAT CYPRUS NOT BE TAKEN UP BY THE UNGA IN PLENARY SESSION BUT INSTEAD REFERRED TO THE SPECIAL POLITICAL COMMITTEE. IF THIS PROCEDURE WERE FOLLOWED, THE PROBLEM OF ACCORDING DENKTASH EQUAL TREATMENT WITH MAKARIOS WOULD BE RESOLVED SINCE DENKTASH WOULD BE ALLOWED TO ADDRESS THE COMMITTEE UNDER THE COMPROMISE ARRANGEMENT WORKED OUT IN THE UNGA LAST YEAR.

ESENBEL ALSO TOLD HABIB THAT THE TURKS WERE NOT SATISFIED WITH THE UNEVEN TREATMENT ACCORDED THE TWO CYPRIOT COMMUNITIES IN THE UN LAST YEAR WHEN MAKARIOS WAS ALLOWED TO ADDRESS THE UNGA PLENARY AND MONOPOLIZED ATTENTION. BY THE TIME DENKTASH HAD THE OPPORTUNITY TO PRESENT THE TURKISH CYPRIOT POSITION BEFORE THE SPECIAL POLITICAL COMMITTEE, INTEREST IN CYPRUS HAD LARGELY EVAPORATED.

THE TURKISH POSITION IS NOT NEW. LAST YEAR, OUR RESPONSE WAS TO POINT OUT THAT ONLY REPRESENTATIVES OF STATES WHICH ARE MEMBERS OF THE UNITED NATIONS ARE AUTHORIZED TO ADDRESS THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY PLENARY. AT THE SAME TIME, WE SUPPORTED THE REFERRAL OF THE CYPRUS ITEM TO COMMITTEE AND FOR THE SOLE PURPOSE OF HEARING REPRESENTATIVES OF BOTH GREEK AND TURKISH CYPRIOT COMMUNITIES. HOWEVER THERE WERE NOT, AND LIKELY AGAIN WILL NOT BE SUFFICIENT VOTES TO HAVE THE QUESTION REFERRED ENTIRELY TO THE SPECIAL POLITICAL COMMITTEE WITHOUT DISCUSSION IN THE PLENARY.

3. ANALYSIS:

THERE HAS BEEN NO SUBSTANTIVE PROGRESS TOWARD A CYPRUS SOLUTION SINCE THE UNGA MET LAST YEAR ON THE ISSUE. WE  
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HAVE URGED WALDHEIM TO MOVE THE PARTIES TOWARD ANOTHER ROUND OF NEGOTIATIONS BUT HE RECOMMENDS, FOR THE TIME BEING, THAT THE EFFORT BE LIMITED TO EXPANDING THE HUMANITARIAN TALKS IN NICOSIA BY GRADUALLY INTRODUCING POLITICAL MATTERS. HE FEARS THAT AN EFFORT TO RENEW THE VIENNA TALKS NOW WILL ONLY RESULT IN A "CHARADE" AND END IN FAILURE. THE TURKS HAVE INDICATED THAT THEY ARE WILLING TO DISCUSS THE KEY TERRITORIAL QUESTION ONLY IN

SECRET SUBCOMMITTEE MEETINGS (IN NICOSIA), WHILE THE GREEK CYPRIOTS INSIST THAT KEY QUESTIONS BE FIRST TAKEN UP BY THE PRINCIPALS UNDER THE AEGIS OF WALDHEIM. NEITHER CYPRIOT COMMUNITY APPEARS TO FEEL ANY URGENCY IN MOVING AHEAD IN THE NEGOTIATIONS. THE LACK OF PROGRESS HAS GIVEN PRESIDENT MAKARIOS AN OPENING TO ATTEMPT TO INTERNATIONALIZE AND PUBLICIZE THE CYPRUS ISSUE IN THE UNGA.

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PRESUMABLY, MAKARIOS WILL FIRST LOBBY FOR NON-ALIGNED SUPPORT IN COLOMBO AND IN THE UNGA WILL THEN SEEK ONCE AGAIN TO HAVE THE ISSUE ADDRESSED IN PLENARY WHERE ONLY MAKARIOS WILL BE ALLOWED TO SPEAK FOR CYPRUS. MAKARIOS' AIM WOULD BE TO ISOLATE TURKEY AGAIN BY THE ADOPTION OF A RESOLUTION ON CYPRUS CALLING FOR, AMONG OTHER THINGS, WITHDRAWAL OF ALL FOREIGN MILITARY FORCES ON THE ISLAND. THE TURKS WILL ASK THAT DENKTASH BE HEARD BEFORE THE PLENARY AND WILL PROBABLY OPPOSE EVEN A COMPROMISE UNGA RESOLUTION WHICH APPEARS TO DISCRIMINATE AGAINST TURKEY. DENKTASH HAS ABETTED THE TURKISH POSITION BY NOW REFUSING TO RESPOND TO ANY CORRESPONDENCE WHICH FAILS TO ADDRESS HIM BY HIS TITLE OF "PRESIDENT OF THE TURKISH FEDERATED REPUBLIC OF CYPRUS".

4. THE OPTIONS:

(1) SINCE WE DOUBT STRONGLY THAT THE ASSEMBLY'S GENERAL (STEERING) COMMITTEE COULD BE PERSUADED TO ASSIGN THE ENTIRE ITEM TO THE SPECIAL POLITICAL COMMITTEE, WE CAN CONTINUE TO INSIST THAT THE DEBATE IN PLENARY BE TRANSFERRED TO COMMITTEE FOR SEVERAL SESSIONS SO THAT DENKTASH CAN PARTICIPATE. WE COULD CONTINUE TO ABIDE BY THE GENERAL

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ASSEMBLY'S CONSENSUS RULING WHICH LIMITS ACCESS BY TURKISH-CYPRIOT LEADERS TO THE SPECIAL POLITICAL COMMITTEE.

(A) PRO:

--THE POSITION IS BALANCED, BASED UPON RULES OF PROCEDURE AND PRECEDENT, AND THUS SHOULD NOT SURPRISE THE TURKS.

(B) CON:

--NEVERTHELESS, TURKEY WOULD BE UNHAPPY.

(2) WE COULD SUPPORT TURKEY'S EFFORTS TO HAVE THE UNGA GRANT DENKTASH THE RIGHT TO SPEAK IN PLENARY.

(A)PRO:

--IT WOULD PLEASE THE TURKS.

(B)CONS:

--WE WOULD ALMOST CERTAINLY LOSE IN A VOTE.

--WE WOULD COMPROMISE OUR POSITION ON AN IMPORTANT PROCEDURAL PRINCIPLE AND LEAD OTHERS TO CONCLUDE THAT WE WOULD NOT OPPOSE FUTURE APPEARANCES BY, FOR EXAMPLE, ARAFAT.

--IT WOULD SIGNAL MUCH STRONGER U.S. SUPPORT FOR THE TURKISH POSITION THA, HERETOFORE AND PERHAPS COMPLICATE WALDHEIM'S EFFORTS TO ENCOURAGE NEGOTIATIONS BY CONFIRMING A STATUS ON DENKTASH WHICH THE TURKS WOULD CLAIM IS CO-EQUAL TO THAT OF MAKARIOS.

5. RECOMMENDATION:

THAT WE CONTINUE THE POLICY WE PURSUED AT THE LAST GENERAL ASSEMBLY, OPPOSING THE APPEARANCE BY A TURKISH CYPRIOT SPOKESMAN IN THE PLENARY, BUT SUPPORTING REFERENCE TO THE SPECIAL POLITICAL COMMITTEE WHERE A TURKISH CYPRIOT SPOKESMAN COULD PARTICIPATE. WE COULD REVIEW THIS

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POSITION DEPENDING UPON (1) MAKARIOS' PLANS FOR THE UNGA AND (2) THE EXTENT TO WHICH TURKEY HAS BEEN ABLE TO PICK UP SUPPORT FOR ITS POSITION.

APPROVE:

DISAPPROVE:

ALTERNATIVELY, THAT YOU APPROVE OPTION 2.

APPROVE:

DISAPPROVE:

6. DRAFTED BY:EUR/SE:RDELABARRE/IO/UNP:RRMAXIM; CLEARED BY IO/UNP:GBHELMAN, IO:JABAKER, EUR:JAARMITAGE, EUR/SE:WLEAGLETON; APPROVED BY P - MR. HABIB.  
CLEARED:S:RAHERNE.  
HABIB

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